2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

Preface

131 TRIBES SPEAKING KAINGÁNG DIALECTS inhabit the highlands of southeastern South America from the state of São Paulo, Brazil to Argentina. Although no thorough study has previously been made of any of these tribes enough has appeared in print[1] to indicate that they differ in language and culture. The group I studied[2] is localized on the government reservation of Duque de Caxias in the municipality of Dalbergia in the state of Santa Catarina, Brazil. It is one extended family.[3] A handful of fellow tribesmen, probably another extended family, is living on a reservation at Palmas[4] in the state of Santa Catarina, and as late as 1934 a small group of Kaingáng, thought to be tribesmen of those at Duque de Caxias, was reported to be wandering wild and causing damage in the southern part of the state.

179 Since 1914 when the Kaingáng were pacified and localized at Duque de [73] Caxias epidemics have reduced their number from between three and four [61] hundred to 106,[5] and a number of changes have come over their culture.

[1] A summary of data on the Kaingáng tribes is given in "La civilisation materielle et la vie sociale et religieuse des Ze du Brésil meridional et oriental," by Dr. Hermann Ploetz and Dr. A. Metraux, *Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman* (Argentina), Tucuman 1939. Volume 1, Entrega 2a, pp. 107-238.

[2] They have also been called Bonocudo. This is unfortunate for it confuses this Kaingáng speaking tribe with the linguistically unrelated Bonocudo of Minas Geraes, Brazil. Dr. José Maria de Paula has published a vocabulary and some remarks on the Kaingáng of Duque de Caxias in "Memoria Sobre os Bonocudos do Paraná e Santa Catarina . . ." in *Congresso Internacional de Americanistes*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922. 20 Session, Volume 1; pp. 117-137.

[3] This term is explained in the body of the book.

[4] Herbert Baldus has a vocabulary and some remarks on these Indians in *Anthropos*, Volume 30, 1, 2. January-April 1935, p. 191.

[5] 40 children (19 males, 21 females); 9 males and 15 females over thirty; 27 males and 15 females over fifty.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

difficult to talk to many of the Kaingáng on these occasions because they are so easily enraged, and the ethnologist had best hold his tongue and try to appear as small as possible. In death the Kaingáng feel a threat to their security. As they put it, "We are afraid of the ghost-souls; so we come together and live piled up." As in the feuds, no one knows when the deaths will cease. The presence of death lays bare the very fiber of the Kaingáng personality, for it is in terms of this emotional amalgam in which anger and fear are indistinguishably fused that we must understand all of their behavior in times of stress.

In 1918 when the first wave of the grippe struck the Kaingáng, killing them in such numbers that their bodies lay about unburied until the dogs ate them, Thunder Storm rose up in his rage and fear and beat the air and trees with a club. "When disease came," said his son to me, "my father beat the trees because he was afraid of the supernatural beings (*nggiyádn*). He said, 'If I see you, I'll kill you. You are *waikayú*[1] and kill us all the time. So if I see you come to me, I'll kill you! The Brazilians kill my relatives; so out of revenge I destroy them when I see them! When I see them, I kill them, and I'll do the same to you—when I see you, I'll kill you!' He spoke thus as he beat the trees." Nothing could express this side of the Kaingáng character and world-view better. Here is condensed the Kaingáng frantic fear and anger at the forces of death, the equation of the supernatural with any other enemy, and the identification of the situation created by death with the vendetta tradition and revenge.

The Kaingáng not only fight with death; they also fly from it. That is why Waipó told me that we must move on when Ndíli's baby died, and that is why old Kakthí moved out of her house when the grippe descended again in 1933. "Why has she left her house?" said I to her son-in-law. "She is afraid of our sickness. She said, 'If I stay there, I'll get sick'; so she went away. She is in the forest to get away from it. She went to another place so our sickness would not see her." Poor Kakthí fled in vain, for she soon fell ill and died. "Her [dead] husband called her, and that is why she died. Our ghost-souls led her off, and that is why she died. Her husband's ghost-soul led her away, and that is why she died. She lay there telling about it, and then she died. The supernatural beings and her husband's soul led her away. He [her husband] led her away so that he might go with her."

The ghost-soul loves and pities the living whom it has deserted, but the latter fear and abhor the ghost-soul. The ghost-soul longs for those it has left behind, but they remain cold to its longing. "One pities one's children and therefore goes with them [i.e. takes them] when one dies. One loves [literally, lives in] one's children, and dies and goes with one's children, and one [i.e. the child] dies." The dead pity those they have left alone with

[1] Vicious, aggressive.